

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS - BROWN

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:TRAVELLING PRESS REPORTAGE, MORNING, THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 16, 1976

NO. 12

WIRES:

1. UPI (ANDERSON FROM DAR): "SEC OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER
SAYS HE HAS 'NOT GIVEN UP HOPE' DESPITE A SHAKY BEGINNING
TO HIS SHUTTLE EFFORTS TO DEFUSE THE TENSE RACIAL SITUATI
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

"KISSINGER, WHO MET WEDNESDAY WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT
JULIUS NYERERE, PLANNED TO LEAVE TODAY FOR LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
HIS SECOND BLACK AFRICAN STOP, AND TALKS THERE WITH PRE-
SIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA.

"NYERERE EMERGED FROM THE 4 1/2 HOUR MEETING WITH KISSINGER
SAYING HE WAS 'LESS HOPEFUL, LESS ENCOURAGED THAN BEFORE'
ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S MISSION.
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"BUT KISSINGER TOLD A SEPARATE NEWS CONFERENCE IT WAS TOO
EARLY TO TELL AND HE WOULD MAKE HIS JUDGMENT ABOUT THE
SUCCESS OF HIS MISSION AFTER TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN

PREMIER JOHN VORSTER THIS WEEKEND.

"I HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS,'
KISSINGER TOLD REPORTERS.

"KISSINGER'S 10-DAY SHUTTLE, AIMED AT BRINGING ABOUT A
PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER TO BLACKS IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH
WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA), WILL INCLUDE RETURN TRIPS TO DAR
ES SALAAM AND PROBABLY LUSAKA AFTER THE MEETING IN
PRETORIA WITH VORSTER.

"AT HIS NEWS CONFERENCE, NYERERE WAS ASKED REPEAT-
EDLY WHY HE WAS LESS HOPEFUL AFTER THE TALKS WITH KISS-
INGER. THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT SAID THERE FIRST WAS
THE QUESTION OF WHETHER RHODESIAN PREMIER IAN SMITH WAS
WILLING TO ACCEPT A BLACK GOVERNMENT AND SECOND WHETHER
SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BEGIN THE TASK OF SETTING UP NAMIBIA'S
HOME RULE.

"I HEARD NOTHING ABOUT SMITH'S REGIME BEING CONVINCED
THAT THERE SHOULD BE MAJORITY RULE,' NYERERE SAID. 'IN
FACT, HE CALLED IT A GIMMICK. NOBODY HAS TOLD ME THAT
THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE READY TO CONVENE A CONSTITUTIONAL
CONFERENCE FOR NAMIBIA.'

"KISSINGER SAID, 'THE TIME TO MAKE JUDGMENTS IS AFTER
NEXT TUESDAY,' WHEN HE RETURNS TO REPORT ON HIS TALKS
WITH VORSTER.

"THEN IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO JUDGE IF PROGRESS HAS BEEN
MADE --NOT ON THE FIRST DAY,' KISSINGER SAID.

"THAT WAS NOT THE ONLY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION THAT EMERGED
IN THE FIRST DAY OF TALKS.

"NYERERE ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF BEING 'OBSESSED
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WITH COMMUNISM,' IN REFERENCE TO CUBA. HE SAID IT WAS
'INCREDIBLE THAT THE COUNTRY, WHICH IS THE MOST POWERFUL
SINCE ADAM, SHOULD BE WORRIED ABOUT A LITTLE ISLAND
90 MILES OFF ITS COAST.'

"KISSINGER SAID THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT
COMMUNIST REGIMES, AND HAS, 'BUT IT CANNOT TOLERATE
AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IMPOSING ITS RULE,' HE SAID IN A
REFERENCE TO ANGOLA AND THE PRESENCE THERE OF 15,000

CUBAN TROOPS."

2. REUTERS (NO BYLINE FROM LUSAKA): "SEC OF STATE
HENRY KISSINGER HAS EXPLAINED TO TANZANIA THE 'PRECISE

FRAMEWORK' FOR A POSSIBLE MEETING BETWEEN HIMSELF AND RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH, US OFFICIALS SAID TODAY.

"THE OFFICIALS, WHO ARRIVED HERE FROM TANZANIA WITH DR. KISSINGER ON THE SECOND-LEG OF AN 11-DAY AFRICAN TOUR, INSISTED THAT A SMITH-KISSINGER MEETING WAS UNLIKELY AT THE MOMENT.

"BUT THERE WERE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT IT WAS SOMEWHAT LESS UNLIKELY THAN HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY ADMITTED.

"THE PUBLIC US POSITION IS THAT MR. SMITH ... SHOULD NOT BE BROUGHT INTO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE.

"THAT LAST MINUTE IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE REACHED DURING THIS KISSINGER MISSION, BUT SENIOR US OFFICIALS WERE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A MEETING WITH MR. SMITH ANYWAY.

"DR. KISSINGER ARRIVED HERE TO WARM EMBRACES FROM ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SITEKE MWALE -- AND A WARNING THAT ZAMBIA REGARDED ITS OWN ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS HAVING FAILED AND HAD THUS DECIDED 'THAT WE WILL SUPPORT INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE.'

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"BUT, THE ZAMBIAN MINISTER SAID: 'WE WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT IF YOUR EFFORT, YOUR GENUINE EFFORT, CAN BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA) AND IN NAMIBIA (S-W AFRICA) AND INDEED CAN LEAD TO THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY OR TOMORROW, WE WILL CEASE TO FIGHT BECAUSE THE POINT OF FIGHTING WON'T BE NECESSARY.'

"DR. KISSINGER SAID HE WAS COORDINATING HIS INITIATIVE CLOSELY WITH BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO. DR. KISSINGER PLANS TO OPEN TALKS WITH PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA -- WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS A 'HUMANE AND DISTINGUISHED LEADER' -- LATER TODAY.

"OFFICIALS ON THE PLANE THAT BROUGHT DR. KISSINGER TO ZAMBIA SAID HE WOULD NOT MEET MR. SMITH UNLESS AFRICAN LEADERS ASKED HIM TO DO SO -- AS THEY HAVE ASKED HIM TO MEET SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER.

"DR. KISSINGER, IN HIS TALKS WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT J. NYERERE IN DAR ES SALAAM YESTERDAY, EXPLAINED THE PRECISE FRAMEWORK UNDER WHICH HE MIGHT SEE MR. SMITH.

"THAT FRAMEWORK WAS NOT EXPLAINED, BUT IT APPEARED TO DIFFER FROM THE PUBLIC POSITION THAT MR. SMITH SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF THE TALKS UNTIL THE LAST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

"MR. NYERERE'S REACTION TO THE IDEA WAS THE SAME AS HIS REACTION TO DR. KISSINGER'S MEETINGS WITH MR. VORSTER, THE US OFFICIALS SAID.

"THOUGH MR. NYERERE HAS PUBLICLY COMPLAINED THAT DR. KISSINGER'S TWO MEETINGS WITH MR. VORSTER HAVE GIVEN NEW STATURE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADER, THE TANZANIAN PRESIDENT ACKNOWLEDGED AT A NEWS CONFERENCE LAST NIGHT THAT HE HAS NOT TRIED TO DISCOURAGE THE MEETING.

"DR. KISSINGER IS TELLING AFRICAN LEADERS THAT HIS MEETINGS WITH MR. VORSTER ARE THE PRICE THEY WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, EVEN IF THE MEETINGS ENHANCE UNCLASSIFIED

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MR. VORSTER'S GOVERNMENT.

"COMMENTING ON MR. NYERERE'S APPARENT PESSIMISM ABOUT PEACE PROSPECTS, US OFFICIALS SAID THEY FELT THAT HE AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS MAY SIMPLY BE TAKING A HARD LINE IN PUBLIC TO APPEASE BLACK RADICALS.

"IF MR. NYERERE HAD BEEN AS HARD-LINE IN PRIVATE OVER THE PAST WEEKS, DR. KISSINGER WOULD NOT HAVE EMBARKED ON HIS CURRENT EFFORT, ONE OFFICIAL SAID."

3. AP (GAV;HON FROM LUSAKA): "SEC OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER ARRIVED HERE TODAY ON THE SECOND LEG OF HIS AFRICAN PEACE MISSION AND WAS IMMEDIATELY TOLD THAT ZAMBIANS SUPPORT 'INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE' FOR BLACK RULE.

"ON HIS WAY TO ZAMBIA THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED HOPE FOR SUCCESS IN HELPING ACHIEVE 'PEACE, JUSTICE AND PROGRESS' IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, DESPITE THE PESSIMISM OF HIS FIRST HOST, PRESIDENT J. NYERERE OF TANZANIA.

"AT LUSAKA AIRPORT KISSINGER WAS MET BY ZAMABIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SITEKE MWALE WHO SAID, 'WE WILL SUPPORT INTENSIFIED ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL BLACK RULE IS ACHIEVED IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND UNTIL THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA' IS ACHIEVED. NAMIBIA, ALSO KNOWN AS SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, IS CONTROLLED BY SOUTH AFRICA.

"IN REPLY KISSINGER HAILED THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE OF BOTH ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT K. KAUNDA PERSONALLY AND THE ZAMBIAN NATION.

"NEWSMEN TRAVELLING WITH KISSINGER WERE TOLD HE LEFT TANZANIA WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT NEITHER NYERERE NOR KAUNDA ARE LIKELY TO EASE THEIR DEMAND FOR SPEEDY TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITIES IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

"THE TWO PRESIDENTS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA LAST WEEK COORDINATED THEIR POLICIES
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AT A SUMMIT MEETING IN PREPARATION FOR KISSINGER'S NEW EFFORT IN SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY.

"DESPITE A GLOOMY ASSESSMENT BY NYERERE, US INFORMANTS SAID KISSINGER STILL IS NOT ASSUMING HIS MISSION WILL FAIL. THEY SAID HE RATES AT SLIGHTLY LESS THAN EVEN HIS CHANCES OF SETTING UP MEANINGFUL BLACK-WHITE NEGOTIATIONS OVER RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

"KISSINGER EVIDENTLY TAKES THE VIEW THAT NEITHER NYERERE NOR KAUNDA WOULD GIVE ANYTHING AWAY AT LEAST UNTIL THEY HAVE HEARD THE OUTCOME OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER'S TALKS WITH RHODESIA'S IAN SMITH."

RADIO/TV:

1. BERNIE KALB, WTOP RADIO: "KISSINGER'S TALENTS AS A NEGOTIATOR WILL BE TAXED TO THE OUTER LIMITS DURING HIS SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE CHALLENGE HE FACES IS TRYING TO CONVINCE AN IMPATIENT BLACK AFRICA THAT DIPLOMACY, AND NOT ARMED STRUGGLE, IS THE WAY TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, THAT GOAL REPLACING THE POWER NOW ENJOYED BY THE WHITE-RULING MINORITY WITH THE POWER OF THE MAJORITY BLACKS. KISSINGER RECOGNIZES THAT THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES ARE SUSPICIOUS OF US MOTIVES. HENCE, HIS REPEATED EFFORT IS IN STATING THAT US POLICY IN AFRICA WILL TAKE ITS CUE FROM AFRICA ITSELF, THAT THERE IS NO US PLAN.

"IT'S KISSINGER'S HOPE, A LONG-SHOT HOPE, THAT A ROUND OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY BETWEEN SOUTHERN AFRICA'S BLACKS AND WHITES CAN ESTABLISH A NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK TO BRING BLACK MAJORITY RULE TO BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA."
(FROM DAR)

2. BERNARD KALB, WTOP RADIO: "SHARPLY CONTRASTING MOODS BETWEEN PRESIDENT NYERERE AND SEC KISSINGER AT THE END OF THEIR FIRST DAY OF TALKS ON HOW TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HOLDING SEPARATE NEWS CONFERENCES - NYERERE SOUNDING DISCOURAGED, EVEN MORE SO THAN HE WAS BEFORE THE
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TALKS BEGAN, HE SAID, KISSINGER SAYING NOTHING HAS CHANGED FROM WHAT WAS KNOWN A WEEK AGO, REMINDING NEWSMEN THAT HE HAD ALWAYS SAID THE CHANCES WERE SOMEWHAT LESS THAN 50-50 THAT SUCCESS WAS IN THE OFFING. BUT, HE ADDED, WE DO NOT OPERATE ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FAIL.

"AND TO ONE TANZANIAN REPORTER WHO RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHAT HE CALLED AFRICAN SUSPICIONS OF THE KISSINGER SHUTTLE, THE SECRETARY SAID HIS INITIATIVE WAS UNDERTAKEN WITH THE SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LEADERS, AND THAT IF THEY ARE SUSPICIOUS, AND IF THEY BELIEVE THE US EFFORT CANNOT BE HELPFUL, THEN THE US WILL STOP THE INITIATIVE. HIS REMARKS WERE MORE IN THE WAY OF A REPLY TO THE QUESTION THAN ANY THREAT TO BREAK OFF THE SHUTTLE. INDEED, NYERERE, DESPITE HIS PESSIMISTIC MOOD, MAKE IT CLEAR HE WANTS KISSINGER TO KEEP GOING." (FROM DAR)

3. JIM ANDERSON HAD SHORT RADIO SPOT ON WAVA RADIO.

4. BERNARD KALB, CBS RADIO, WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP:

"KISSINGER'S AFRICAN SHUTTLE GOT OFF TO A BUMPY START IN TANZANIA, BUT IT'S STILL MOVING, THE SECRETARY FLYING THIS MORNING FROM DAR ES SALAAM TO THIS CAPITAL CITY OF LUSAKA FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. KAUNDA'S VIEW IS THAT KISSINGER IS REALLY GROPING IN THE DARK, BUT THAT IT'S STILL TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER HE WILL SEE DAYLIGHT. IN SHORT, KAUNDA HAS BEEN ECHOING

THE PESSIMISM EXPRESSED YESTERDAY BY PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA. FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH KISSINGER, NYERERE

SAID HE HAS NOT RECEIVED ANY INFORMATION THAT MAKES HIM MORE HOPEFUL ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. INDEED, HE'S EVEN MORE GLOOMY THAN HE WAS BEFORE.

"SOME DIPLOMATS SUSPECT THAT NYERERE IS TRYING TO USE PESSIMISM AS A KIND OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WEAPON IN HOPES OF EXTRACTING CONCESSIONS FROM THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES. UNCLASSIFIED

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ALSO, SO THAT BLACK AFRICA NOT BE PERCEIVED BY SOUTH AFRICA AS BEING OVER-EAGER TO NEGOTIATE. FOR HIS PART,

KISSINGER BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY, FEELS THE SHUTTLE IS STILL ON COURSE, AND THAT THE US IS NOT OPERATING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL

FAIL, EVEN THOUGH THE ODDS FOR SUCCESS ARE NO BETTER THAN 50-50." (FROM LUSAKA)

5. BARRIE DUNSMORE, ABC-TV, GOOD MORNING AMERICA:

"KISSINGER'S MEETING WITH TANZANIAN NYERERE IS PERHAPS CRITICAL TO WHATEVER MEASURE OF SUCCESS THERE MAY BE IN THE AFRICAN SHUTTLE. NYERERE IS THE MOST RESPECTED LEADER IN BLACK AFRICA. HE HAS GREAT PRESTIGE AMONG THE VARIOUS LIBERATION GROUPS. BEFORE KISSINGER CAN EXPECT TO MAKE ANY HEADWAY TOWARDS SETTING UP A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON RHODESIA AND SOUTHWEST AFRICA, HE WILL HAVE TO HAVE NYERERE'S FULL SUPPORT. THAT MAY BE CONTINGENT UPON CONVINCING NYERERE THAT AMERICAN MOTIVES ARE PURE, THAT THERE IS NO COLLUSION BETWEEN THE US AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND THAT THE US IS REALLY INTERESTED IN SEEING MAJORITY RULE ESTABLISHED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ONE OF THE MAIN MOTIVES FOR THE NEW US POLICY IN AFRICA WAS TO AVOID BEING PUT IN THE UNTENABLE POSITION OF EITHER SUPPORTING WHITE REGIMES OR ALLOWING THE SOVIETS FURTHER SUCCESS IN AFRICA. WHAT THE BLACK AFRICANS OBJECT TO IS KISSINGER'S PREOCCUPATION WITH THE SOVIETS INSTEAD OF SEEING AFRICA IN PURELY AFRICAN TERMS. HE WILL SUCCEED OR FAIL TO THE EXTENT HE CAN CONVINCE LEADERS LIKE NYERERE THAT WHAT THE BLACK AFRICANS WANT AND WHAT THE US WANTS IS THE SAME." (FROM DAR)

NEWSPAPERS

1. WASH POST (MARDER FROM DAR) P. 1
HEADLINE: KISSINGER: A COOL RECEPTION

TANZANIAN PRES NYERERE SAID TONIGHT THAT HE HAD FOUND NOTHING ENCOURAGING IN HIS TALKS WITH SECSTATE KISSINGER TO HEAD OFF EXPANDING RACIAL WARFARE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
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KISSINGER TREATED THAT ASSESSMENT AS PESSIMISTIC AND PREMATURE.

IN CONSECUTIVE PRESS CONFERENCES AT THE END OF HAK'S FIRST DAY OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA, NYERERE SAID HE HAD FOUND NO SIGN OF PROGRESS IN THE SECRETARY'S ATTEMPTS TO LAY A GROUNDWORK FOR BRIDGING THE GREAT GAP BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

HAK IS SEEKING TO RESOLVE THE RACIAL CONFLICTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA THROUTH SEPARATE TALKS WITH NYERERE AND OTHER BLACK LEADERS AND WITH VORSTER AND SMITH.

NYERERE ... TOLD REPORTERS AT ONE POINT: "I COULD EVEN SAY THAT I AM LESS HOPEFUL THAN I WAS" AFTER HEARING

HAK'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ZURICH TALKS

ABOUT AN HOUR LATER HAK TOLD REPORTERS THAT "NOTHING HAS CHANGED FROM A WEEK AGO, AND THEREFORE I CANNOT MAKE JUDGMENTS BASED ON FLUCTUATING MOODS.

"WE DO NOT OPERATE ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL FAIL," HAK SAID, ALTHOUGH HE SAID FROM THE BEGINNING THAT HE REGARDED THE ODDS FOR SUCCESS AS "LESS THAN 50-50."

HAK SAID THAT NOW THAT HE HAS TALKED WITH NYERERE, "I WILL TAKE THE VIEWS OF THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS TO PRETORIA, AND THEN I WILL RETURN" TO CONSULT WITH THE BLACK PRESIDENTS.

AT THAT POINT WE WILL BE ABLE TO JUDGE WHETHER ANY PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, BUT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO JUDGE THAT ON THE FIRST DAY." THE BLACK-WHITE CONFLICT THAT HAS GONE ON FOR YEARS, HAK SAID, "HAS CREATED PROFOUND DISTRUST" ON BOTH SIDES. "IN ANY NEGOTIATION, EACH SIDE HAS A TENDENCY TO STATE ITS OPTIMUM POSITION AT THE OUTSET."

NYERERE WAS STAKING OUT A SHREWD BARGAINING POSITION IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IMMEDIATELY AFTER FOUR HOURS OF TALKS WITH HAK, WESTERN DIPLOMATS HERE AGREED PRIVATELY. HE WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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PINNING RESPONSIBILITY ON THE US IN ADVANCE IF THE NEGOTIATIONS PROVE FUTILE, AND BLUNTLY CONCEDED THAT HIS WAS (SIC) TO TRY TO ASSURE THAT THE US WOULD NOT END UP ON THE SIDE OF THE WHITE-MINORITY REGIMES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

HAK, WHEN ASKED WHICH SIDE THE US WILL SUPPORT IF HIS DIPLOMACY FAILS, REPLIED: "WE CAN GIVE NOT BLANK CHECKS IN ADVANCE. WE ARE HERE TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS. WE HAVE AT THIS MOMENT NOT GIVEN UP EXPECTATIONS OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS, AND THAT IS A QUESTION WHICH CAN BE ADDRESSED WHEN WE KNOW THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH MADE PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IMPOSSIBLE."
(NYERERE HAD SET STAGE WITH "POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE" STATEMENT)

TONIGHT HE EXPANDED ON THAT. THE BRITISH TRIED AND FAILED TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO BLACK-MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, NYERERE SAID, AND THEN THE AFRICAN LEADERS TRIED AND "WE FAILED" AND ARMED GUERRILLA WARFARE CAME AS THE ONLY RECOURSE.

THE US HAS "MORE POWER THAN THE BRITISH" AND CERTAINLY MORE THAN TANZANIA, NYERERE SAID, AND "THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A GO AT IT. IT'S PROPER THAT THEY SHOULD.

"AND IF THEY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT REALLY THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA PEACEFULLY," HE CONTINUED, "WELL, AT LEAST THEY'LL ACHIEVE A CLARITY" AND "A BASIS ON WHICH I HOPE THE US WILL UNDERSTAND WHY THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY OPEN TO AFRICA TO ACHIEVE THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITS COUNTRIES."

NYERERE SAID THE US MUST NOT BE DUPED BY VORSTER AND SMITH THAT THEY ARE "FIGHTING COMMUNISM."

AFTER FAILING TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT FIGHTING, "WE TAKE COMMUNIST ARMS BECAUSE THIS IS THE ONLY SOURCE WE CAN GET ARMS FROM. WE ARE NOT COMMUNISTS BECAUSE WE HAVE TO FIGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM AND BECAUSE ONLY COMMUNISTS CAN GIVE US ARMS," NYERERE SAID FORCEFULLY.

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NYERERE RIDICULED THE IDEA THAT AFRICA IS THREATENED BY CUBAN MILITARY POWER ON THE MODEL OF THE SOVIET-BACKED USE OF CUBAN FORCES BY THE WINNING SIDE IN ANGOLA'S CIVIL WAR LAST WINTER.

HE SAID SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES "INVADED A SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATE" AND ANGOLA CALLED FOR OUTSIDE HELP. IT IS PREPOSTEROUS FOR A NATION AS POWERFUL AS THE US TO BE SO PREOCCUPIED WITH A NATION THE SIZE OF CUBA 90 MILES OFF ITS SHORES.

HAK, WHO HAS TRIED TO ASSURE THE BLACK AFRICANS -- WITHOUT SUCCESS -- THAT HIS SUDDEN INTEREST IN AFRICA IS NOT BASED SOLELY ON CHECKMATING SOVIET-CUBAN PENETRATION OF AFRICA, TOLD REPORTERS THAT CUBA HAD NOT COME UP IN HIS TALKS WITH NYERERE.

BUT HAK, WHEN PRESSED BY BLACK AFRICAN NEWSMEN ABOUT THE AMERICAN OBSESSION WITH CUBA, REITERATED THAT THE "MASSIVE INFUSION" OF SOVIET WEAPONS INTO ANGOLA, "FOLLOWED BY A CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, REPRESENTED "MASSIVE OUTSIDE INTERVENTION INTO THE AFFAIRS OF AFRICA."

IN DISCUSSING SPECIFIC ISSUES IN HAK'S DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, NYERERE SAID "KISSINGER CERTAINLY HAS NOT TOLD ME THAT HE THINKS SMITH WILL BE OUT OF THE WAY SOON" SO THAT MAJORITY RULE WILL COME TO RHODESIA'S 6 MILLION BLACKS NOW RULED BY 270,000 WHITES.

IN NAMIBIA ... NYERERE SAID HE SIMILARLY SEES NO EVIDENCE THAT THE MILLION BLACKS WILL SOON GAIN MAJORITY RULE OVER THE 100,000 WHITES.

"AT ONE TIME I WAS MORE HOPEFUL ON NAMIBIA THAN I AM NOW"
NYERERE SAID.

STILL, ASKED IF HE HAS GIVEN UP ALL HOPE THAT A CONFERENCE
CAN BE CALLED TO WORK OUT THE PROPER REPRESENTATIVES FOR
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NAMIBIA, NYERERE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF
A CONFERENCE AT GENEVA IS BEING EXPLORED AND SAID "I THINK
ONE MUST WAIT UNTIL HAK HAS SEEN VORSTER AGAIN."

WHEN ASKED (ABOUT HAK MEETING WITH SMITH) NYERERE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE DISCUSSED THIS WITH HAK. "WHAT IS THE POINT OF MEETING SMITH" WHEN HE REJECTS MAJORITY RULE."

BUT THAT IS UP TO HAK, HE INDICATED.

"THESE TALKS ARE DOUBLE-EDGED," NYERERE SAID. HAK FIRST
MET WITH VORSTER IN FRG, THEN ZURICH, AND IS TO GO TO
PRETORIA FRIDAY, NYERERE NOTED. "VORSTER IS BECOMING
A WORLD STATESMAN," NYERERE GIBED, AND HAK COULD SIMILARLY

ENHANCE SMITH'S PRESTIGE.

HAK EMPHASIZED TODAY THAT EVERY MOVE MADE BY THE US IS IN
ACCORD WITH THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS' OWN OBJECTIVES. IF
THE AFRICAN LEADERS WANT HIM TO ABORT HIS DIPLOMACY, HAK
SAID WITH AN EDGE TO HIS VOICE, "THE US IS ALSO PREPARED
TO DO THAT."

2. NEW YORK TIMES (GWERTZMAN FROM DAR) P. 1
HEADLINE: TANZANIAN LEADER IS PESSIMISTIC AFTER CONFERRING
WITH KISSINGER (WITH TWO COLUMN PICTURE OF HAK AND NYERERE)

PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA SAID TONIGHT THAT AFTER
SEVERAL HOURS OF TALKS WITH SECSTATE KISSINGER HE HAD
HEARD NOTHING TO ENCOURAGE THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING
NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS FOR EITHER S-W AFRICA OR RHODESIA,
AND THEREBY AVOIDING RACIAL WARS THERE.

COMING AT THE BEGINNING OF HAK'S ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE THE
KEY ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE COMMENTS BY NYERERE,
A LEADER AMONG BLACK AFRICAN STATESMEN, SEEMED TO RAISE
STRONG DOUBTS ABOUT HAK'S ABILITY TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT
PROGRESS DURING HIS "DIPLOMATIC SHUTTLES" OF THE NEXT
WEEK OR SO.

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BUT AT HIS OWN NEWS CONFERENCE TWO HOURS LATER, HAK SUGGESTED THAT WHATEVER NYERERE SAID AT THIS POINT MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE ONLY ADOPTING OF POSITIONS FOR THE START OF A GIVE-AND-TAKE WITH PRIME MIN VORSTER

IN ZURICH LAST WEEK HAK STRESSED THAT "PROGRESS" HAD BEEN MADE IN TALKS WITH VORSTER, BUT HE HAD NO SUCH WORDS OF OPTIMISM TONIGHT. HE DECLARED THAT AN ADVANCE HAD BEEN MADE SINCE HE BEGAN EXCHANGING IDEAS WITH BLACK AND WHITE AFRICAN LEADERS SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, "BUT IT WOULD BE RASH TO SAY A SOLUTION IS IN SIGHT."

HAK SAID THERE WERE "SEVERAL COINCIDING VIEWS: THERE ARE SEVERAL SHARPLY DIFFERING VIEWS."

...

FOR REPORTERS MOVING BETWEEN MR NYERERE'S NEWS CONFERENCE AT HIS WHITE STATEHOUSE OVERLOOKING THE INDIAN OCEAN AND HAK'S SESSION AT THE NEARBY KILIMANJARO HOTEL, IT WAS DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THEY WERE WATCHING A SKILLFUL BIT OF MANEUVERING IN ADVANCE OF FUTURE COMMITMENTS OR THE START OF THE END OF MR KISSINGER'S AFRICAN EFFORT.

CERTAINLY, NYERERE APPEARED DETERMINED TO AVOID ANY SIGN OF ENCOURAGEMENT OR ANY DEVIATION FROM THE WELL-KNOWN DEMANDS BY BLACK AFRICANS FOR AN END TO WHITE RULE IN RHODESIA AND FOR PROMPT INDEPENDENCE FOR S-W AFRICA

BEFORE HAK'S ARRIVAL LAST NIGHT, THE CONSENSUS AMONG AMERICAN AND AFRICAN OFFICIALS WAS THAT PROGRESS WAS INCREASINGLY MORE LIKELY ON THE ISSUE OF S-W AFRICA, OR NAMIBIA. THERE THE PROBLEM IS NOT SO MUCH WHETHER TO GIVE THE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK POPULATION OF 900,000 INDEPENDENCE, BUT HOW TO ORGANIZE A CONFERENCE SETTING FORTH THE DETAILS OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE.

BUT TONIGHT NYERERE, INSISTING THAT GESTURES MADE SO FAR
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BY VORSTER WERE INSUFFICIENT, SAID: "AT ONE TIME I WAS MORE HOPEFUL ON NAMIBIA; I'M NOT NOW."

HE REFUSED TO BUDGE FROM HIS INSISTANCE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION MEETING IN WINDHOEK ... WAS NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY BLACK AFRICANS BECAUSE
.... SWAPO WAS EXCLUDED.

....

HAK HAS BEEN TRYING TO ARRANGE A CONFERENCE OF

ALL INTERESTED PARTIES TO SETTLE THE S-W AFRICAN SITUATION BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL TAKES UP THE ISSUE. NYERERE SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD HAK "WHO I BELIEVE ARE THE CHIEF PARTICIPANTS IN A PLAUSIBLE AND ACCEPTABLE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA."

THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME A GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS BEEN MENTIONED PUBLICLY BY ANY PARTY.

NYERERE SAID THAT HE WOULD AWAIT VORSTER'S REPLY TO THIS WHEN HAK RETURNS HERE NEXT TUESDAY AFTER SPENDING THE WEEKEND IN PRETORIA CONFERRING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADER. BUT IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS HE REFUSED TO ACCEPT EVEN THE SUGGESTION OF PARTICIPATION BY ANY PARTY OTHER THAN SWAPO AND THE SAG.

WHEN TOLD ABOUT NYERERE'S VIEWS, HAK RESPONDED THAT THE US WAS MERELY CONVEYING IDEAS AND OFFERING SOME COMMENTS ON ITS OWN BUT NOT PUTTING FORTH A SPECIFIC PLAN AND THEREFORE "AT THE END OF THE PROCESS THE PARTIES WILL HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY CAN RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES.

"IN ANY NEGOTIATION EACH SIDE HAS A TENDENCY TO STATE ITS OPTIMUM CONDITIONS AT THE OUTSET AND IF A SOLUTION IS REACHED IT WILL DEPEND ON WHETHER THERE IS A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE BY ONE OF THOSE SIDES AND THAT DETERMINATION WILL HAVE TO BE MADE LATER," HAK SAID.

WHEN PRESSED TO SAY WHETHER THE GLOOM CASE BY NYERERE HAS MADE HIS MISSION USELESS, HAK AVOIDED ANY DEFINITE
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STATEMENT, MERELY REMINDING THE PARTIES THAT IT WAS UP TO THEM WHETHER WAR OR PEACE PREVAILED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3. CHICAGO TRIBUNE

USED WIRE SERVICE COPY

4. LOS ANGELES TIMES

NOTE THAT YESTERDAY, LA TIMES USED TORGERSON, NOT JOHNSTON. THURSDAY PAPER NOT IN YET, WILL COVER IN EVENING CABLE.

5. HEARST

NEITHER BOSTON NOR BALTIMORE CARRIED WALLACH ARTICLES YESTERDAY, BUT USED WIRES SERVICES. TODAY'S BOSTON PAPER ALSO USED UPL. (BALTIMORE IS AFTERNOON PAPER AND NOT YET AVAILABLE FOR TODAY)
HABIB

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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